794 575 578 women who had joined the group favoured another site: a small settlement very close to Sivepe and the mission station and affiliated with Sasembata village. They never suggested the "practises" should be held in the station. Indeed, although they proceeded night after night, usually from about 10:00 p.m. until well after midnight, the head teacher did not know about them almost until the end, until he drove home late one night and heard something (he did not know what) from the road. Some nights there was no practise because the two sides could not agree on a site. The men seemed to be somewhat irritated by the constant presence of a mission teacher in the village, in a conspicuous role of authority, over their own women. They countered by complaints about the "noise" which made it impossible for them to sleep. This made it easier for the Sivepe women to agree to practise in the next settlement, though they also practised near the house of one of the village dancing leaders who lived away from the complaintants and was sympathetic to the kere. In the end, the usual split did occur: the mission women did not actually dance with the group from Sivepe and Sasembata village, but pulled out and formed a second kere party together with Kongohambo women, under the leadership of the deacon's wife, who also knew this dance. Both parties performed in the final performance at the mission station.

These events definitely show the mission station as a cultural force, quite independently of the mission teachers' ecclesiastical or schoolmasterly role. Sivepe was willing to offer the mission station a certain amount of compliance, in return for the valued knowledge that was being supplied, but fought--with success--against the mission station's attempt to use to the occasion to place the village in a position of socio-political subservience.

Section 3: The Mission and Traditional Religion

771 776 177 The Orokaiva attitude to Christianity is a complex subject which I intend to treat more fully elsewhere and falls somewhat outside the concern of our present project. It is very clear that some basic notion of Christian monotheism have not been accepted by the Orokaiva, such as for instance the notion of God's omnipotence. Orokaiva Christians believe in the existence of God and in His infinite power, but He is viewed as an addition to other powers, who is hostile to some of these other powers, but not necessarily to others. I was told that a person ought to give up black magic after baptism, but informants dismissed my suggestion that Christianity was also opposed to curing magic. No curing magician ever ceased practising when he was baptised.

177 [778] [775] I have referred several times to the tendency to place ancient ritual under the protection, so to speak, of the new God. Rituals connected with the taro cycle were performed at Christmas and Eastertime, perferably on the mission station. While the beliefs about the ghosts

CHAPTER IV: Acculturation at the Time of Resettlement

177 My concern in this chapter is not to discuss acculturation in general, which has been done already in earlier chapters, but to consider the variations in degree of acculturation that existed between individuals and groups in the sample villages. This is an issue of some importance as the main line of change has not been so much that wholly new culture elements were introduced between 1951 and the present (though there were some of these, too) but that culture elements accepted by an élite in 1951 have become generally accepted today, while other elements again are now in the stage of being accessible to an élite of the younger generation.

There are many innovations which can be adopted by Orokaiva only on a village basis. I have already referred to the changes in house design; such changes were never made individually, though less conspicuous changes (the use of nails rather than bark twine) may be made by an individual. The abandonment of initiation ceremonies can [881] likewise occur only on the basis of a corporate decision. At Sivepa they were abandoned after the war; on the other hand, girls' puberty seclusion and the subsequent ostentatious "coming out party" continued. Also, male initiation was widely replaced by a custom called a "birthday party" which was given to every boy of the age of nine or ten. [583] Similarly, the inclusion of money in bridewealth is an innovation which, [436] once made in a homogeneous community, is bound to become standard practise. In Sivepa the first such payment was amassed in 1950 and the median payment has been $24 since, without much upward trend, while in Inonda the leading family raised the rate well above this.

On the other hand, much change was the result of individual decisions which were gradually followed by enough individuals to make them into a change of general norm. Thus, girls' puberty seclusion used to last from three to six months; today, it often lasts no longer than three weeks while in Inonda, I was told, it is still shorter. In Sivepa, girls are usually still at school when the first menses begin. The Australian school teacher was most disturbed about the mysterious disappearance of his senior girls at this time and their dubious excuses when they returned to school, which however they did not always do. Until I told him, he did not fully realise that puberty seclusion was still practised in the villages; nobody had told him as they feared he might try to stamp out this custom. Some individuals keep their daughters secluded for months, even today.

797 At the time of the eruption no baptisms had yet occurred at
● 798 Inonda, and only one, as far as I can find out, in Sivepe--and this man settled at Agenahambo later after a failed marriage. For the Inonda people, the nearest school was at Seva, and one boy (now the

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